Bulletin of Friends Historical Association

(Formerly Bulletin of Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia)

Friends' Historical Association
Founded Twelfth Month 4, 1873
Incorporated 1875

Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia
Founded Fifth Month 16, 1904

The two societies merged Twelfth Month 1, 1923, when the older Friends' Historical Association elected to membership all the members of Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia, which thereupon ceased formally to exist. The organization continued under the original name and charter of incorporation.

The apostrophe was dropped from the name First Month 9, 1941.

The Bulletin has been published since 1906.

VOLUME 34

1945

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FRIENDS HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Publication Office:

Haverford College Library
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BULLETIN OF

Friends Historical Association

William Penn—Just Among Friends

William Penn Tercentenary

Amendment to Constitution

Vol. 34 Spring Number · 1945 No. 1

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The Bulletin is sent to members free of charge. Libraries may subscribe through the Editor's office at one dollar per annum. Single numbers are sold for one dollar.

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B U L L E T I N O F

Friends Historical Association

Vol. 34 Spring Number, 1945 No. 1

ANNUAL MEETING 1944 FRIENDS HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

THE ANNUAL MEETING of Friends Historical Association was held in the auditorium of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1300 Locust Street, Philadelphia, on Eleventh Month 27, 1944. The President and Treasurer presented their annual reports, and the Directors whose names appear on the opposite page were elected for the ensuing year. The President read a memorial minute of the Board of Directors for the late Editor, Thomas Kite Brown, Jr. (published in the Autumn, 1944, number of this BULLETIN, p. 53). Upon the recommendation of a special committee appointed to suggest a new Editor, Thomas E. Drake was chosen to serve for a period of two years. Membership statistics presented by the President disclosed a net gain of six members for the year, bringing the total to 586.

Coming as it did at the end of the tercentenary year of William Penn's birth, the meeting was, in a sense, a culmination of the Tercentenary celebrations. Henry J. Cadbury gave a paper on "William Penn, Just Among Friends," an interesting contribution to our knowledge of Penn, which is printed in this number of the BULLETIN. Elizabeth Gray Vining also took the audience with her on informal travels in England in 1937 "On the Trail of William Penn." Her account of her adventures in gathering material for her biography of Penn made most of her hearers wish that they too could experience the joys of bicycling in the Penn country in the softness of the English spring.

Following the presentation of the papers members of the Association enjoyed looking at the exhibit of rare Penn relics provided

by The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and partook of light refreshments.

A MIDWINTER DINNER is fast becoming a tradition with Friends Historical Association. The third of such annual affairs took place on Second Month 22, 1945, at The Whittier, Fifteenth and Cherry Streets, Philadelphia. The dinner itself, which is perhaps the most important part of this gathering devoted primarily to sociability, was served with the dispatch to which we have become accustomed at The Whittier. The food was better than usual, certainly better than one usually finds in wartime banquet rooms. The hobby of collecting was the theme of the speakers. President William W. Comfort, whose introductory remarks could happily be more extended than usual because of the inability of Cornelius Weygandt to be present, told of his recent triumph in collecting the six-hundredth member of Friends Historical Association, a long sought-after goal. Thomas E. Drake, Curator of the Quaker Collection of the Haverford College Library, and a collector therefore by profession, explained how a librarian may find a hobby in "Collecting Collectors" rather than books, since book-collecting is a part of his job. Carroll Frey, Editor of the Penn Mutual Life Insurance Company, told droll stories of his adventures in running down William Penn material for the library. Francis R. Taylor, the only non-professional collector of the three, though all successful collectors must have the enthusiasm of the true amateur, gave glimpses of the never-never land of Quaker fiction in which he often delves. The lessons of the evening, if such there were, were two: that three speakers and a chairman can finish an evening at nine o'clock if the chairman has the will and the way, and that there is a great deal of fun and a great deal of room in the field of Quaker collecting.

TO THE growing list of fiction in which Quakers appear as characters may be added three short stories about Indiana Friends by Jessamyn West, a birthright Friend and graduate of Whittier College. The stories were published in *The Atlantic Monthly*, July, August and December, 1944, and were entitled "A Likely Exchange," "First Day Finish," and "Lead Her Like a Pigeon."

WILLIAM PENN—JUST AMONG FRIENDS[1]

By Henry J. Cadbury

WE HAVE all had occasion of late to remember many different aspects of William Penn. His public and private life have come before our imagination in many ways, both the manifold public services which he rendered and the mingled romance and tragedy of his domestic life. Aware of this abundance, not to say surfeit, I have naturally selected for this occasion a less hackneyed and more limited theme, his relations within the Society of Friends of his time. I am not asking how good a Friend he was by our standards nor how effective he was as an exponent of Quakerism to his contemporaries, though his reputation would not seriously suffer if I did. But a Quaker audience like this knows that even the most conspicuous or outwardly influential member of the Society is not by foregone conclusion taken for granted within all its membership, accepted by others, and himself perfectly at home in its meetings. The wider the range of his outside interests and influence, the more are the possibilities of tension and the need for mutual adjustment and understanding. Anyone who knows the intimate side of John Bright's or Herbert Hoover's Quaker connections will understand what I mean.

When one inquires into this somewhat obscure and delicate phase of William Penn—William Penn "in a Society capacity," to use the old Quaker phrase—the source material is neither direct nor abundant. That he served the Society so well in what we call today public relations—by personal contacts with the most highly placed persons and by voluminous writing—is not

[1] Paper presented at the annual meeting in Philadelphia of Friends Historical Association, Eleventh Month 27, 1944. The following abbreviations are used: APS = the American Philosophical Society (Philadelphia); *BFHA = Bulletin of Friends Historical Society (Association)*; HSP = the Historical Society of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia); *JFHS = Journal of Friends Historical Society* (London); *PMHB = Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*. *Works = A Collection of the Works of William Penn* [edited by Joseph Besse], 2 vols. London, 1726.

evidence of an easy adjustment between himself and his fellow members. Evidence to the contrary would scarcely be recorded in the biographies,[2] and at most would have to be read between the lines of personal correspondence. Letters of this sort from or to our subject are not known to me in great numbers. For example, the great major collection of Swarthmore MSS. all is of earlier date than Penn's Quakerism. Neither Maria Webb's *Penns and Peningtons* nor J. Francis Fisher's *Discourse . . . on the Private Life and Domestic Habits of William Penn,* though both full of interesting and intimate details, helps us much here. Perhaps some of the most intimate and gossipy letters were destroyed. A hint is conveyed by a batch of letters to Penn in 1670 which I lately learned of in the Public Record Office, London—six or seven letters including what is, I suppose, the only extant love letter from Guli, an account of an interview by Penn's representative with his irate parents, and a rather indiscreet letter about Margaret Fell soon after her marriage to George Fox from an obscure London Quakeress named Elizabeth Bowman. These I hope to publish some day in full. I shall collect here a few evidences, using as far as possible other examples that are not noticed by his biographers.

PENN'S position in early Quakerism was much like that of a convinced Friend today. Of course all early Friends were "convinced," but when Penn threw in his lot with the Society about 1667 at the age of 23 it was a movement that already was well under way. Now what it is like to come into Quakerism, as it were, from the outside, everyone who hears or reads this article either knows or can easily learn. Full acceptability on either side may not be felt at once. Penn knew he was not a

[2] An honorable exception is *William Penn: A Topical Biography* by William I. Hull (1937). See especially pp. 178-181. As to Penn's correspondence, the situation is not much different today from what it was thirty-five years ago when Albert Cook Myers estimated that about eleven hundred of Penn's letters were extant but more than half of them had never been published. *Friends Intelligencer,* vol. 67 (1910), p. 226. Letters written to Penn might be more useful for the present purpose but probably survive in less number and with a smaller proportion in print.

charter member. As he says of John Burnyeat, he was "one of the second stock of ministers." [3] It is perhaps not irreverent to compare him in this respect with the apostle Paul, who years after his conversion was on the defensive when compared with the original "apostles who were in Christ before" him.

Like Paul of Tarsus, Penn in his conversion had made not an easy transition but an about face. For many Friends Quakerism was only the last stage of a pilgrimage, a natural acceptance of what they had long sought. William Penn on the contrary, though not a persecutor nor chief of sinners in his youth, appears to have come from no group of Seekers. He was no chastened and disciplined nonconformist, prepared in advance for the message of Thomas Loe. Such hints as we get of Admiral and Lady Penn before Penn's own conversion are very different, for example, from those we have of Isaac and Mary Penington. Samuel Pepys is of course not an unprejudiced witness, but there is some evidence elsewhere that the hearty coarseness of the Penn and Pepys circle is not overdone.[4] Penn's early work, *No Cross, No Crown,* is sufficient evidence that for him to become a Quaker meant a thorough break with the past. Could he or others at once forget how much an alien he was in his new environment? Neither his sword nor his wig was at once laid aside because of Quaker scruples, and if externals like these remained could all his inner past be left behind, even with the most resolute intention to forget them, as Paul says, and count them as rubbish?

Penn's social position, though not unique, was of course one of the elements in his past that had to be partly abandoned and partly adjusted to his new commitment. Naturally he felt a special sympathy with those Friends who had come from backgrounds of like prestige, some of them several years before him.

[3] *The Truth Exalted in the Writings of . . . John Burnyeat* (1691), The Preface to the Reader.

[4] See the suggestions of an affair of Joseph Williamson with "plump Lady Pen" in the letters to the former by Sir Nicholas Armorer in 1670 in *Calendar of State Papers relating to Ireland, 1669-1670* (1919), pp. 65 and 265.

Writing of Isaac Penington, son of the Lord Mayor of London, who became a Friend in 1657, Penn says, "his worldly station was the most considerable of any that had closed with this way" up to that time.[5] We have later Penn's most revealing correspondence with Sir John Rodes, who also was drawn to Quakerism from a noble family. In one of the unpublished letters the young man, echoing Penn's own sentiments, writes: "As thou rightly observes many are my temptations and such as are uncommon to persons of lower circumstances which has often obliged me to think a station of greatness not at all to be desired. No! I plainly see a plebeian with a competency has quite the advantage of us with respect to heavenly matters." [6] Few persons of quality joined the Society of Friends. What a change it meant to those who did so, Penn himself more than once plainly indicates. He says, "William Penn first lost his estate before he got it; and sacrificed it, the comforts of his father's house, and whatever was dear of this world." [7]

Conscious of this sacrifice, he was equally sensitive of any exclusion from the full status of a Friend. When, for example, in the first flush of his convincement he offered to lend his horse to Thomas Loe, who was in need of one, and Loe declined to take it, the refusal worried Penn and made him "think he was not Friend enough to have his horse accepted." [8] Soon afterwards Penn had a chance to show his unwillingness to capitalize on his social position. He was arrested at a meeting at Cork and the Mayor, observing his dress to be different, offered to set him at liberty if he gave bond for his good behavior. Penn, however, refused and was committed to prison with eighteen other Friends.[9] Three years later when arrested with others in London at Gracechurch Street he told the Mayor there that though he was Admiral

[5] Testimony of William Penn, dated Westminster, 20th of 12th mo., 1680/1 in *The Works of . . . Isaac Penington* (1681).

[6] Sir John Rodes to William Penn, 1693, in Penn-Forbes MSS., vol. 2, No. 83, at HSP. The published letters are in *A Quaker Post-Bag*, by Mrs. Godfrey Locker Lampson (1910), pp. 3-11.

[7] From *Quakerism a New Nick-Name for Old Christianity* . . . (1673), p. 108, and in *Works*, vol. 2, p. 266.

[8] Harvey MS. (1729), printed in *JFHS*, vol. 32 (1935), p. 23.

[9] Joseph Besse, Life of the Author, in *Works*, vol. 1, p. 2

Penn's son he "deserved to be in common with others, and sought no refuge from the common usage." [10]

What the non-Quaker public thought of Penn's conversion is easily guessed and fully confirmed. His father was outraged; his father's colleague and rival, Samuel Pepys, was both scornful and secretly triumphant. Sir John Robinson, Lieutenant of the Tower of London, who had arrested him for attending meeting in Wheeler Street in 1670, pitied him and urged him not to forfeit his plentiful estate and "render [himself] unhappy by associating with such a simple people." [11]

How did these simpler members of the Society welcome such an accession? As a great catch? [12] or as dangerously unassimilable material? Each reaction would be natural. I believe we have no direct contemporary report, but on the occasion of Penn's imprisonment in the Tower of London an unfriendly correspondent at Deal reports that news had come to some Quakers there "that their Saint Penn is taken. He is devilishly cried up amongst that perverse sullen faction." [13] The Friends would have been more than human if they had not taken some satisfaction when obtaining a notable convert. Few minority religions either in more ancient or in more modern times have been indifferent when some notable joined them. George Fox more than once lists noteworthy cases of well-paid ministers of the Gospel giving up their livings and becoming Friends, and in an unpublished short history of Quakerism [14] he enumerates justices, sheriffs,

[10] William Penn to Admiral Penn, 15th of 6th mo. 1670, printed in S. M. Janney, *Life of William Penn* (1852), pp. 57 f. The "others" do not appear to be listed in the Quaker records, but are named in the official "Records of the Judicial Proceedings" published in the *Berkshire Archaeological Journal*, vol. 37 (1933), pp. 59-75.

[11] From the dialogue of the trial as reprinted among others by Joseph Besse, *Collection of the Sufferings of the People Called Quakers* (1753), vol. 1, p. 433.

[12] A. C. Buell, *William Penn* (1904), pp. 68-70, suggests that George Fox deliberately set Thomas Loe to convert Penn. He quotes this as Fox's general policy from an early anti-Quaker tract, but its name and author he does not give and I have not identified it.

[13] *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1668-9*, p. 102.

[14] For this MS. history see my *Annual Catalogue of George Fox's Papers* (1939), pp. 10 f.

mayors, parliament men, army officers, and men of wealth or other position. He includes Isaac Penington, "Lady Penington and Lady Rodes and many others that went under that title." He does not however mention William Penn in this connection.

BESIDES renouncing wealth and station early Friends were aware that they must not count too much upon the world's learning. Of course men educated as were Penn and Barclay and Keith, better educated than any Friends for many subsequent generations, could not hide their culture. They were in fact eager to dedicate it to the service of Truth. Penn's range of education is much more wide than is commonly realized. A study of his reading and his library is much to be desired. Yet, joining a largely less educated group, Penn was anxious not to be set apart for his learning and not to be suspected as what we should call in today's vernacular "high brow." He welcomed the fact that the bulk of early Friends were "not many wise or noble," recognizing that "parts and learning do not make men better Christians though they may make them better orators and disputants." And especially of George Fox he says,

> Many times hath my soul bowed in a humble thankfulness to the Lord, that he did not choose any of the wise and learned of this world to be the first messenger in our age of His blessed truth to men: but that He took one that was not of high degree, or elegant speech, or learned after the way of this world, that His message and work He sent him to do might come with less suspicion, or jealousy of human wisdom and interest, and with more force and clearness upon the consciences of those that sincerely sought the way of truth in the love of it.[15]

Of his own learned background Penn evidently was very humble. One of his intellectual peers in the Society, Robert Barclay, writes to Penn:

> God's calling is to be preferred and prized before all the wisdom and glory of this world, in the sense whereof I truly rejoiced and was refreshed to feel thee in knowing how needful it is for such of us who heretofore have had a share of these things more than other to accompt them all as loss and dung in respect of the cross of Christ, in which I travail to be more and

[15] *Journal of George Fox* (1694), Preface by William Penn.

> more exercised that thereby every natural gift and property may be leavened and seasoned with the simplicity of truth.[16]

That Penn in part succeeded in this ambition for humility is attested by a statement about him by Thomas Clarkson:

> Though he was a learned man, he used, while preaching, language the most simple and easy to be understood, and he had a happy way of explaining himself by images the most familiar. He was of such humility, that he used generally to sit at the lowest end of the space allotted to ministers, always taking care to place above himself poor ministers, and those who appeared to him to be peculiarly gifted.[17]

In spite of all this Penn was criticized and warned about the dangers of learning[18] and the advantages of ignorance in a way that some of us have experienced in our own day from obscurantists or those that make a cult of ignorance.

YET with all his genuine humility William Penn the Quaker continued to be a marked man—perhaps more conspicuous than if he had followed the worldly career for which he was headed by his father, by his talents, and by the circumstances of his time. The active propagandist of a notorious sect, the sole proprietor of an American colony, the friend of many nobles and the confidant of the King—such a man was in the public eye, and the Friends would be all the more concerned for him on this score.

Their anxiety was on many accounts. It is rarely presented by any surviving record directly, but is easily divined by the defensive words which Penn and his friends have left on his behalf. It is easy to see that his eminence as proprietor of Pennsylvania might be criticized. He was so sensitive about the name which King Charles insisted on, thinking that Friends would regard it as due to his own vanity, that he tried to bribe the

[16] Robert Barclay to William Penn, 1673, in Penn-Forbes MSS., vol. 2, p. 14, at HSP.

[17] Thomas Clarkson, *Memoirs of the Private and Public Life of William Penn* (Philadelphia, 1814), vol. 2, pp. 270 f.

[18] For example by the Labadist Pastor Ivon at Wiewart in Holland in 1677 (*Works*, vol. 1, p. 94).

undersecretary to change it.[19] A letter that Penn wrote to an "old friend" shows what even his old friends suspected in him. He writes from Chester, Pennsylvania, in February, 1683:

> I could speak largely of God's dealings with me in getting this thing: what an inward exercise of faith and patience it cost me, in passing. The travail was mine, as well as the debt and cost; through the envy of many both professors, false friends, and profane: my God hath given it me, in the face of the world; and it is to hold it in true judgment, as a reward of my sufferings: and that is seen here, whatever some despisers may say or think.
>
> The place God hath given me; and I never felt judgment for the power I kept, but trouble for what I parted with.
>
> It is more than a worldly title or patent, that hath cloathed me in this place. Keep thy place. I am in mine. I am not sitting down in a greatness I have denied.[20]

That was the unkindest cut of all—to suggest that by accepting Pennsylvania, Penn had gone back on the renunciation of worldly greatness, on the condemnation of titles and honors that he had made in *No Cross, No Crown.* Of course the temptation was never remote, and less than two years later, when Penn himself was back in England, George Fox was writing a "testimony against the flattering titles that they say Friends in America writes and gives to themselves as Lords Proprietors and Esquires, etc."[21]

The brunt of two other criticisms connected with Pennsylvania fell upon Penn. Some Friends left behind in England felt that their fellow members who had migrated to America had done so

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[19] Letter of William Penn to Robert Turner, 5th of 1 mo., 1681. S. M. Janney, *Life of William Penn* (1852), pp. 156-57.

[20] Letter of William Penn, Chester, 5th of 12 mo., 1682, printed in Robert Proud, *History of Pennsylvania* (1797), vol. 1, p. 210. The name of the addressee is not given.

[21] Two MS. copies at Friends Reference Library, London. See *Annual Catalogue of George Fox* (1939), 103G. (10 mo. 1684). This was apparently occasioned because Thomas Rudyard refused to accept a petition because it was not addressed to the Lords Proprietors of East Jersey. In January, 1686, a similar offense came to attention. Learning "that in the chronologie of the almanack set forth by Samuel Atkins of Philadelphia and printed by William Bradford of the same place there was the words 'the beginning of the government here by the Lord Penn,' the

to escape persecution. Insofar as Penn had encouraged settlement of Friends in the Jerseys or Pennsylvania he seemed party to a cowardice of "shunning the cross." They also noted how many valuable ministers and leaders of the Society had died soon after migration, whether because of the rigors of a too well advertised colony, or as the judgment of God upon the enterprise. In any case the impoverishment of the religious strength of Quakerism in Old England was an undeniable result, and Penn must have received much of the blame of those who felt that "that Province had been the grave for many of the Lord's servants" or "had bereav'd England of a great many good Friends."[22]

IN ENGLAND Penn was subject to other criticisms from Friends. He has been called "in certain matters the most powerful man at the Court, or the most powerful in England, during the first two years of the reign of James II."[23] It was hard for Friends to suppose that he could exercise that place without compromise. One of the few surviving bits of autobiography is a detailed account of the several visits Penn paid to the Court, each time interceding for the release of Friends. Its tone makes plain that some had found fault with his intimacy there.[24] Macaulay without evidence says that Friends looked coldly on Penn and treated him with obloquy on this account.

There is a delightful anecdote handed down through several generations to the effect that once when he was at Reading and

Council sent for Samuel Atkins and ordered him to blot out the words 'Lord Penn,' and likewise for William Bradford, the printer, and gave him charge not to print anything but what shall have licence from the Council." *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania*, vol. 1 (1852), p. 165, for ninth of 11th month 1689 (*sic*). On this almanac and its history see C. R. Hildeburn, *The Issues of the Press in Pennsylvania* (1888), vol. 1, pp. 1-4.

[22] John Whiting, *Persecution Expos'd* (1715), p. 175. Other material is collected or summarized in William C. Braithwaite, *The Second Period of Quakerism* (1919), pp. 408-11.

[23] John W. Graham, *William Penn* (1917), p. 170.

[24] MS., "Apology for Himself," at APS, published in the *Memoirs* of the HSP, vol. 3 (1836), pp. 235 ff.

about to go up to the Court of King James the Friends expressed fear that in frequenting such a place Penn would be "in great danger of departing from that simplicity of demeanour which Friends believed it their duty to maintain." Penn accordingly took one of the Reading Friends with him, introduced him at Court, and kept him there throughout his visit to observe his behavior to the King and everyone else. The Friend found Penn's conduct, mode of address and general demeanor entirely satisfactory and thereafter was in a position to allay the doubts of other Friends who were uneasy on this account.[25]

It is hard to believe that any members of the Society of Friends accepted the report so current in other circles that William Penn was a Papist, in fact a Jesuit, in disguise. Yet I found in the minute book of York Monthly Meeting that a rumor to that effect was made to the monthly meeting in August, 1690, and a committee of two appointed who reported the following month in detail upon it.[26] About this time Penn actually felt it necessary in an "Epistle General to the People of God called Quakers" to assert, "I am innocent both of the imputation of Jesuitism, Popery and plots."[27] An unpublished letter from his lifelong friend, John Gratton, written in 1678, cites the report then circulating in Derbyshire that Penn had turned Jesuit and was hiding himself, having fled from his country [county?], and asks Penn to make a formal written denial and to send a copy of an essay he had lately published against popery.[28]

When a few years later in the reign of William and Mary, William Penn was accused of treason, Friends evidently were not too kindly disposed to him as his letter defending his innocence makes plain. Indeed, Thomas Lower offered him a suggested form of acknowledgment of guilt "as an expedient for a reconcilia-

[25] *JFHS*, vol. 19 (1922), p. 31.

[26] Letter of Thomas Goodaire and George Canby to the Monthly Meeting in York, 5th of 7th mo., 1690, printed in *BFHA*, vol. 23 (1934), pp. 95 f.

[27] "An Epistle General to the People of God," undated, in MS. at APS, printed in *The Life of William Penn*, by S. M. Janney (1852), p. 353.

[28] Letter of John Gratton dated 19th of 10th month '78 in Penn MSS., Private Correspondence, p. 19, at HSP.

tion between him and Friends."[29] Penn was not guilty and one can be glad that he signed no such statement. Thomas Lower was of course one of George Fox's sons-in-law and so was William Meade. Both of these and apparently Margaret Fox felt at this time quite hostile to William Penn. They made strenuous efforts to have Penn's preface excluded in the publication of Fox's Journal. They were in general overruled and the excellent preface was not only included in the *editio princeps* but reprinted many times both with the Journal and separately. An occasional copy, however, of this first edition may be found without the Preface. There is one in the library at Pendle Hill—which by its omission of the preface shows how far Penn's rejection in influential Quaker circles went. The criticism continued for several years. In 1698 when in Ireland, Penn, together with Thomas Story with whom he was travelling, wrote a letter of reply to London Yearly Meeting itself on the subject.

In spite of all criticisms there was a real bond between Penn and the Society. We might cite the minutes of Horsham Monthly Meeting or Reading Monthly Meeting, the General Meeting of Friends in Pennsylvania, and other official testimonies.[30] There is always danger that obituaries are not quite sincere—or at least partially forgetful. He was especially helpful to younger Friends, as Thomas Story[31] and Sir John Rodes bear witness, but he had the confidence of the leaders of the Society not merely as their influential spokesman to the outside public. I have recently discovered that the earliest historical questionnaire circulated by the

[29] On this paragraph see the material in Braithwaite, *Second Period of Quakerism* (1919), pp. 172-176.

[30] See *Friends Library*, vol. 5 (1841), pp. 327 f. (General Meeting in Penna.). *The Friend*, Phila., vol. 71 (1898), p. 402; vol. 73 (1900), p. 226; vol. 78 (1904), p. 95 (Reading); vol. 79 (1906), p. 221 (Horsham). Along with the last named were sent to Philadelphia in 1699 letters of recommendation from the Second Day's Meeting in London and the Men's Meeting in Bristol. See MS. minutes of Philadelphia Monthly Meeting, 4th of 5th month, 1699. In 8th month, 1701, Falls Monthly Meeting, Bucks County, Pennsylvania, prepared a minute for Penn to take back to England (*Friends Intelligencer*, vol. 36 (1879), pp. 677 f.), for it considered him one of its members. The text of it is not known to me.

[31] Story, as quoted in Clarkson, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 271.

leaders of the Society to secure information about the first publishing of Truth in the several parts of England was composed by William Penn.[32] He cooperated on many important committees and commissions of Friends.

PENN'S relations with the Friends in Pennsylvania I shall not attempt to include in this discussion, since it was in part of a political character as well as indicative of his position within the Society, and it is difficult to detach political and economic interests from the normal relationship of fellow members of the same intimate sect. I may however mention one or two items:

Philadelphia Monthly Meeting in February, 1708, felt obliged to take cognizance of "the scurrilous language and abusive and wicked rhimes against our worthy Friend and Governor, William Penn," used by one of its members, William Rakestraw, and required him "to give satisfaction by a paper of condemnation against these evil practices and endeavor to take off the reproach he hath raised or evils designed against our Governor William Penn and the Truth through him." The matter was continued from month to month and when last mentioned in the minutes more than six years later William Rakestraw had not yet apologized or recanted.[33]

Penn on the other hand found fault with the Friends of Pennsylvania on many scores. Some of these were sheer ingratitude, but on one occasion at least he criticized their intransigeant peace position, in "not only refusing to send men but money to New York for a common defense." He pointed out that at the time—it was in 1695—Friends in England were contributing funds specifically intended "to carry on a vigorous war against France." "Friends here," he continued, "admire at the difficulty of the people there to pay, saying it seems to contradict us here; especially since it may be given under the style of peace and safety or to defray the exigencies of the Government, and deposit it in such hands as may keep Friends clear from breach of their testi-

[32] MS. at HSP, printed in *BFHA*, vol. 33 (1944), pp. 67-72.

[33] MS. minutes of Philadelphia Monthly Meeting (Men), 1682-1714, p. 242 (12th mo., 1707/8) at 304 Arch Street, Philadelphia. The last entry on this case is p. 334 (5th mo., 1714).

mony and the country from such complaints as may overset the Government again, or contradict Friends here that pay much more barefacedly. Others there will give beside Friends and others pay [i. e., war taxes in England] as well as Friends, so it is a mixt thing and for mixt services. I entreat you to weigh this matter and apply some speedy remedy to this affair as you in wisdom shall think meet."[34]

Even on quite personal matters Penn was subject to criticism from Friends. He wore a wig that bothered some Friends in Warwickshire to such an extent that George Fox wrote a long letter explaining that Penn had lost his hair first with smallpox when aged three and later when imprisoned in the Tower. The periwig he wears "is so thin, plain and short that one cannot well know it from his own hair . . . a very short and civil thing," costing only five shillings. "He wears them to keep his head and ears warm and not for pride," and "he's more willing to fling it off if a little hair come, than ever he was to put it on."[35] As this letter is in William Penn's own writing it probably had his attestation. It does not add what we know from Penn himself, that soon after his convincement when he was riding along with an older Friend to a meeting, "William thought his two tailed wig which he had not yet left off was burdensome to him [and] took off his hat [and] turned his wig off behind him not looking back to see what became of it."[36]

Even such an intimate matter as Penn's second marriage was evidently criticized by some Friends. As far as Quaker procedure is concerned it was all in due order, and the letters that he wrote to Hannah Callowhill during their courtship which are extant

[34] MS. letter of William Penn to Arthur Cook, John Simcock, Samuel Carpenter, etc., Bristol, 5th of 9th mo., 1695, in Gratz Collection at HSP. See partial text and discussion in *Friends Intelligencer*, vol. 102 (1945), pp. 124-125. The passage was printed, I find, as long ago as 1903 in the sale catalogue of *The Proud Papers* compiled by Stan V. Henkels, pp. 16 f.

[35] George Fox to Henry Sidon, London, 25th of 3rd mo., 1677. See *Annual Catalogue of George Fox* (1939), 4, 22G. Instead of five shillings his wig in 1702 cost him fifty (*The Penn and Logan Correspondence*, vol. 1, p. 114, *Memoirs* of the HSP, vol. 9, 1870); in January 1700/01 he paid £3/10 for one (MS. Account Book at APS).

[36] Harvey MS., *loc. cit.*, p. 25.

strike no dubious note. Yet one of Penn's good friends, Henry Gouldney, writes:

> This affair is not very well relisht by many: yet I hope after all, 'twill terminate in a comfort to him; but was it now to do I see nothing in me to advise him to it. He has judgment and I believe has sought for counsel. I hope his own inclinations did not hinder the openings of it unto him. I have been as plain as I dare since I knew nothing of it till 'twas too late for contrary considerations to take place. I am not easy in it, yet I don't see how he could much mend it, unless by letting all alone.[37]

Another of Penn's friends, John Tomkins, writes on the same subject:

> I know not how to show dislike to what he doth. He is a man to whom I have given preference in my respect and esteem to any I know, therefore must be excused if am sparing of writing against his present proceedings. Many here are not satisfied with the object for a help meet, tho she may be a person unexceptionable for some other. His circumstances considered every way, several of his nearest friends in affection do not think so of it, as I suppose he doth. But it may be objected by some should not every man have the privilege to choose his own wife. So it must be left hoping that [as] the Lord hath been with him and signally appeared on his behalf in many respects, so in this which is none of the least affairs of his life, he will so work by his divine Providence that if it will not prove to the honor of Truth and his benefit it may not come to pass. I would be willing to leave the issue thereof to this effect.[38]

The marriage turned out better than his friends feared. Indeed, one has an omen of its success while it was still pending,

[37] Henry Gouldney to Sir John Rodes, 12th of 9th mo., 1695, printed in *A Quaker Post-Bag*, p. 62.

[38] John Tomkins to Sir John Rodes, London, 22nd of 8th mo., 1695, printed in *A Quaker Post-Bag*, pp. 127 f. Neither these letters nor any others that I have found give any reason for the uneasiness felt about the proposed marriage. Pennsylvanians may have had a special anxiety about it, for Thomas Janney writes to Phineas Pemberton from Gloucester, 17th of 9 mo., 1695 (Pemberton Papers, vol. 2, No. 117, at HSP) that William Penn is about to take a wife at Bristol, a maid, the only child of her parents; he may have at least ten thousand pounds with her, but must live in that city for her parents cannot part with her. All of which makes it unlikely that he will come for Pennsylvania soon or stay long if he comes. "And if he come and stay but a while I leave you to judge whether it will please or disgust the country."

for his daughter Letitia can write an affectionate letter to her future stepmother though her father is untactfully setting up Hannah Callowhill as a model for his daughter.[39] We ought perhaps to remember that there was fully as much free speech and unwanted advice about marriages in those days as today. This applied particularly to second marriages. Only six years later Penn is reproved by his Friends in Pennsylvania for the marriage of this same Letitia, though she had carried the usual certificate of clearness when she returned to England.[40]

ONE of the most delightful of Penn's letters is his reply to Gertrud Dericks of Amsterdam. One can easily read between the lines that Gertrud's good Quaker pacifism was disturbed by the report that William Penn permitted cannon in his province. Her letter is not extant, only Penn's answer:

> There was an old timber house below a gaol, above the sessions house or chamber, that had seven small, old iron cannon upon the green about it, some on the ground, others on broken carriages; not one soldier, or arms borne, or militia-man seen since I was first in Pennsylvania. So that I am as innocent of any one act of hostility as she herself; for the guns lying so, without soldiers, powder, or bullet, or any garrison, is no more than if she bought a house with a musket in it; and the guns are to go to New York, for they belong to that place; however I take it tenderly of her.[41]

This was in 1684 when Pennsylvania was still quite young, but even this was not quite a new complaint to Penn. I came upon a minute of Burlington Monthly Meeting dated Dec. 4, 1682. Note well the date, the very day when Penn called together the

[39] See the delightful sketch of Hannah Penn by Amelia M. Gummere in *The Friend*, Philadelphia, vol. 100 (1927), pp. 353-5, 362, 379-80.

[40] See *The Penn and Logan Correspondence*, vol. 1, pp. 105, 134.

[41] William Penn to Steven Crisp, London, 28th of 12th mo., 1684 [February, 1685], printed in John Kendall, *Letters of Isaac Penington*, etc. (London, 1796), p. 119. This message to Gertrud, who was later Crisp's wife, is quoted in part by W. I. Hull in his *William Penn and the Dutch Quaker Migration to Pennsylvania* (1935), pp. 383 f., in his *Eight First Biographies of William Penn* (1936), pp. 117 f., and in *BFHA*, vol. 23 (1934), pp. 82 f.

first assembly at Upland (now Chester) having landed less than six weeks before at New Castle. Already rumors had travelled up and across the river to Burlington. The older Jersey settlers ask for an explanation in somewhat peremptory terms in the following minute:

> In the behalf of Truth and the blessed name of the Lord which we make a profession of thought meet to write to our Friends of the monthly meeting of Upland and Marcus Hook that they together with William Penn would be pleased to give this meeting an account concerning the report of the preparation for WAR which God in his mercy hath given us a testimony against, that we may know what satisfaction they can give the meeting therein, Samuel Jennings and Robert Stacy to draw up a paper to that meeting concerning it.[42]

The prominence which Penn obtained was not conducive to easy and simple relationships within the Society. As a public character every Friend felt a stake in his reputation and an interest in his concerns. After 1682 the correspondence of any Friends from Pennsylvania or to Pennsylvania is likely to contain some reference to him and his affairs. The attitude of Friends, even when not critical of him, was often made aloof by a sense of reverence, not to say awe. There are two anecdotes, both relating to occasions when Penn was retiring to bed for the night, which illustrate this in different ways. Without repeating them here I supply in the footnote references to their publication.[43]

As for Penn himself, he felt everlasting gratitude to the Friends for what they had done for him, though he would probably express it as what God had done for him through them. "Their fellowship," he says, "I value above all worldly greatness."[44]

[42] MS. Minute Book of Burlington Monthly Meeting (Men), 1678-1737, p. 29, at 304 Arch Street, Philadelphia. The MS. Minute Book of Chester Monthly Meeting at the time, now in the Meeting House safe at Media, Pennsylvania, makes no mention of this inquiry or of any reply.

[43] One of these anecdotes is given in *JFHS*, vol. 25 (1928), p. 6, the other by Robert Sutcliff, *Travels in Some Parts of North America*, 2nd edition (York, 1815), p. 123.

[44] Epistle to the Reader, prefixed to *Rise and Progress* (*Works*, vol 1, p. 859).

Apparently Thomas Loe, of whom little else is known, had been the instrument through whom his heart was touched more than once in his early years. To Samuel Fisher's writings he acknowledges his debt as giving the most convincing intellectual support for the principles of which his heart became convinced.[45] Of Josiah Coale, though he died within a few months of Penn's conversion to Quakerism, Penn says, "I had intimacy with him beyond many."[46] Twice within a year they were together on a mission to the Court of King Charles II on behalf of imprisoned Friends.[47] In that short but intimate friendship we know that Josiah Coale accompanied Penn on his return to his father's house and served as a third party to soothe the Admiral's wrath.[48] We suspect that Coale may have implanted the seeds of interest in America in the mind of the future colonizer. So far as we know, Coale and Thurston were the first Friends to travel in Susquehanna country—more than ten years before Fox crossed the Delaware and more than twenty years before Penn set foot in America.[49] Willem Sewel, who chanced to be in England at the period of Coale's death, assigns to William Penn a long elegy upon the death of Josiah Coale.[50]

When Penn himself was what he calls "the young convinced"

[45] William Penn's Testimony concerning Samuel Fisher, in *The Testimony of Truth Exalted by the Collected Labours of . . . Samuel Fisher* (1679).

[46] A Testimony concerning Josiah Coale, in *The Books and Divers Epistles of . . . Josiah Coale* (1671). Forty years later Penn wrote in similar appreciation of the help he received, "the strength to my soul, in the early days of my convincement," from John Banks and John Wilkinson of Cumberland. Preface to the *Journal of . . . John Banks* (1712).

[47] MS. "Apology for Himself," in *Memoirs* of HSP, vol. 3 (1836), p. 238.

[48] Harvey MS., *loc. cit.*, p. 24.

[49] A. R. Barclay MSS. 13, printed in *BFHA*, vol. 6 (1914), pp. 2-5, and 53, printed in *JFHS*, vol. 35 (1938), pp. 88-90.

[50] W. I. Hull, *Willem Sewel*, p. 25. The poem is in the Dutch Edition of the *History*, but not the English. Hull and, I think, Sewel later recognized that it is not by Penn. In forty-four lines of English instead of 146 in Dutch, such an elegy occurs in the *Books and Divers Epistles of . . . Josiah Coale* (1671), p. 25 f., signed by M. F. (i. e., Margaret Fell).

probably nothing made him feel more fully at home with older Friends than his travelling with them in the ministry. In writing to John Rodes urging him while still young to travel as companion to itinerant Quaker preachers Penn says, "I can say it was my delight and I thought it my honor to be admitted to such fellowship and service and so will that eye and mind that sees and judges right."[51] We are fortunate in having from Penn himself a full account of one such early journey.[52] It carried him into Kent, Sussex and Surrey and took place in 1672 when Penn was twenty-seven. His companion, of whom he speaks in the warmest terms, was Alexander Parker, a man sixteen years his senior. I find indirect evidence of their travelling later together "on Truth's Account." Their intimacy can be traced back at least three years earlier, when Penn was writing frequently from Ireland to A. P. and G. S.[53] "G. S.," I need not remind you, was Guli Springett. Undoubtedly she and the Peningtons also did much in these early days to make Penn appreciative of the Quaker fellowship. He was intimate with the family several years before their marriage, probably almost from the time of his own convincement.

There were other close and lasting friendships within the Society of Friends which Penn enjoyed, of which evidence has come down to us in correspondence. Some of these were on the continent of Europe, like that with Willem Sewel, from whom many Latin letters to Penn are preserved.[54] Some of them were in Pennsylvania, many of them partly official, as with James Logan, James Harrison and Phineas Pemberton, but also

[51] William Penn to Sir John Rodes, Bristol, 27th of 5th month, 1697, printed in *A Quaker Post-Bag*, p. 11.

[52] MS. Journal of a visit to Kent and Sussex in 1672 at HSP, printed in *PMHB*, vol. 68 (1944), pp. 419-429.

[53] "William Penn's Journal of his Second Visit to Ireland" at HSP, printed in *PMHB*, vol. 40 (1916), pp. 46-84. See entries for Nov. 20, Dec. 19, Dec. 21, Feb. 15. As evidence for their later travels together see *Annual Catalogue of George Fox* (1939), 167F. (3rd mo. 1676).

[54] See W. I. Hull, *Willem Sewel of Amsterdam* (1933), index *s.v.* Sewel, Willem, Letters, to Penn, William.

obviously intimate and personal.[55] Others were in England. Of these I shall mention only one, that with George Fox.

It has been said that the first recorded meeting between them was in August, 1671.[56] Correcting the published Irish Journal of Penn by the MS.,[57] I can move this back about two years, when Penn visited George Fox and Margaret Fell at Bristol just before their marriage, and gave public testimony in approval of it.[58] There is no reason to suppose that even this was their first meeting. It certainly was not the last. Penn and Guli were on hand to see Fox and his party off for America in 1671 and on Fox's return they came again to Bristol, now as man and wife, to welcome him. Soon afterwards Fox was imprisoned at Worcester and Penn was the active agent in his release. The household account book of Sarah Fell of Swarthmore Hall by entries in April, 1676, shows that William Penn had lately visited the Hall. George Fox was at home at the time and they had bought a fat sheep for the occasion. Penn and Fox were two of a notable group of Friends who toured Holland and Germany in 1677. We have evidence of their frequently meeting each other thereafter,[59] until Fox's death when Penn also was present at his bedside and spoke at his funeral.

The subjects on which they consulted were very numerous: the answering of opponents, as when the Quaker reply to Roger Williams was prepared at William Penn's home, the intercession with the authorities on behalf of persecuted Friends, personal

[55] *The Penn and Logan Correspondence*, vol. 1 (1870) and vol. 2 (1872). (*Memoirs* of the HSP, vols. 9 and 10.) Of the numerous letters to James Harrison in the possession of the HSP selections are printed in *Records and Activities* of the Welcome Society of Pennsylvania (1940), pp. 121-135, or in *The General Magazine and Historical Chronicle*, vol. 41 (July, 1939).

[56] W. I. Hull, *William Penn: A Topical Biography*, p. 110.

[57] *PMHB*, vol. 40 (1916), p. 47, where instead of "I visitted G.H.M.ff" read "I visited G.ffM.ff."

[58] *Ibid.*, p. 47, where instead of "to testify to G.As M" read "to testify to Gffs M[arriage]." The text of his testimony is extant in MS. at Friends Reference Library, London, in Portfolio 10, No. 53, pp. 408, 414.

[59] See "Itinerary Journal," *passim* in *The Short Journal and Itinerary Journals of George Fox* (1925), using index *s. v.* Penn, William.

legal problems of individual Friends, or the wider problems of the Quaker colonies of West Jersey or Pennsylvania. They were joint sponsors of a plan for a botanical school for Quaker children near London.[60]

Unfortunately we have nothing from Fox directly expressing his estimate of Penn, but Penn's long and familiar characterization of Fox speaks eloquently for both sides of their friendship. These two pillars of early Quakerism, so different in background and probably in temperament,[61] were supplementary to each other. Their spirits met above outward differences and were united on the highest level. Penn attests their intimacy in these words: "I write my knowledge and not report, and my witness is true: having been with him for weeks and months together on divers occasions; and those of the nearest and most exercising nature; and that by night and by day, by sea and by land; in this and in foreign countries: and I can say I never saw him out of his place, or not a match for every service or occasion."[62]

I offer a commentary on one phrase of this passage. When was Penn with Fox at sea? The only occasion I know of in detail was the crossing from Briel to Harwich in 1677 when the Packet Ship met a terrible storm. Fox, writing about it immediately on landing, tells of the awful waves and leaky ship and inadequate pumps and the general seasickness, adding, "Gertrude was very sick and William Penn so that he vomited blood."[63] The editor of Fox's Journal has omitted these last phrases.[64] Fox himself evidently was untroubled in mind or body by the storm and Penn, who also mentions the storm in a letter,[65] remembered the difference. Those of us who have travelled on Quaker delegations at sea with better sailors than ourselves will understand the kind of respect which such an episode engenders.

[60] Letter of John Lawson to John Rodes, Great Strickland, 18th 11 mo., 1690, in *A Quaker Post-Bag*, p. 21.

[61] Cf. Catharine C. Miles, "Personality Types of Two Quaker Leaders," in *Children of Light*, edited by Howard H. Brinton (1938), pp. 55-83.

[62] *Journal of George Fox* (1694). Preface.

[63] *BFHA*, vol. 13 (1924), p. 89. The words quoted had been crossed through in the holograph original, probably by Fox himself.

[64] *Journal of George Fox* (1694), p. 453.

[65] *Works*, vol. 1, p. 114 f.

THE WILLIAM PENN TERCENTENARY
1644 - 1944

By Stanley R. Yarnall

IN THE SPRING number of the Bulletin (vol. 33, pp. 31-33) the plans for the William Penn Tercentenary were outlined, and now that the Tercentenary has passed into history as a surprising success, it is appropriate for a fuller record to appear.

The adjective "surprising" may seem strange, but the time was very short to project such an undertaking; we were warned that there would be little interest in the celebration in the midst of global war; a presidential election due a few days after the Tercentenary date would make press notices impossible, and Pennsylvania had never succeeded in arousing enthusiasm or much real interest in its great Founder either within or beyond its boundaries. Our committee refused to be discouraged.

The genesis of the Tercentenary was appropriately a concern expressed at a meeting of the Friends Peace Committee. The first important step was the gathering First Month 15, 1944, of a specially selected group of Friends representing pivotal Quaker committees and institutions of the two Philadelphia Yearly Meetings. The spirit of this gathering is a happy memory. We seemed to be "cemented," as the old expression runs, or perhaps "covered" might be better, "in a desire to use the anniversary to revive and extend the knowledge of William Penn's life, ideals, and service in the many fields of his religious, social, and political endeavor,—not only through the Society of Friends but also within our city and State and even wider boundaries."

A sponsoring committee of Friends was soon formed, with a working group and a small executive committee. Richard R. Wood acted as Secretary of this part of our work, ably seconded by Richmond P. Miller, to mention only two who were tireless in following up details, and resourceful in suggesting ways and means of promoting the movement among our meetings and schools and colleges, and stimulating Friends to be spark plugs. Later a finance committee, of which Jonathan M. Steere was

Chairman and Thomas Wistar, Treasurer, raised over $2400 to finance the Quaker features of the Tercentenary, the great Fourth and Arch Meeting on Tenth Month 24, and the provision of literature and a lending hand here and there as needed. The Friends Peace Committee contributed its office facilities and supplied much literature to the central committee, and the Book Stores at 15th and Race, and Fourth and Arch gave efficient advice and indispensable help. Anne H. Price, Secretary to the Speaker's Bureau on International Affairs, was most helpful in supplying speakers, mostly gifted and competent Friends, for 156 programs.

The response of Monthly and individual meetings was prompt and cordial, and few failed to plan programs of true interest and significance. The movement extended beyond Pennsylvania. Apart from the central meeting at Fourth and Arch, the most interesting and important Quaker event was the Bucks Quarterly Meeting on Seventh-day afternoon, Tenth Month 14th, at Pennsbury Manor which, in spite of transportation difficulties, brought together more than seven hundred Friends and their guests to become familiar with William Penn's beautiful country home, and enjoy a well-planned program.

To return to the main stream. After the initial meeting five Friends visited Governor Edward Martin at Harrisburg and found him not only responsive but enthusiastic. He promised full cooperation and expressed the hope that the Tercentenary might prove an outstanding feature of his administration, and that every man, woman, and child might "become William Penn conscious" in the coming months. Soon a committee of twelve was appointed with Charles F. Jenkins as Chairman, paternal, tactful and efficient, and Stanley R. Yarnall as Secretary. Dr. William W. Comfort was a tower of strength, particularly in editorial advice and labor in preparing the memorial volume *Remember William Penn*, issued as a State publication. Walter H. Annenberg of *The Philadelphia Inquirer* was invaluable because of his influence and experience in the field of publicity, and three members of the Governor's official family were indispensable, Dr. Francis B. Haas, Superintendent of Public Instruction; Gregg L. Neel, Insurance Commissioner, and A. Boyd

Hamilton, of the State Council of Defense. They were able to secure clerical and other help, to aid in procuring needed supplies through loan and cooperation from government departments, and to facilitate mimeographing and other essentials at a very difficult and crowded time for State business. Joseph R. Grundy was always optimistic and resourceful, and helped to open doors and get things done when time and patience threatened to run short. It was a good working committee and we had the constant sympathy and interest of the Governor.

The State provided us with an admirable and capable office secretary to supervise the stenographers and other helpers, Miss Avis Mary Custis Cauley, Assistant State Historian, who met all situations with unfailing courtesy and intelligence. She did the lion's share of the work in preparing the material for *Remember William Penn*, a task which seemed quite beyond our ability in so short a time. Our publicity secretary was another important element in the success of the work. All of the expense involved in the general office conduct was borne by the State.

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, of which our Chairman, Charles F. Jenkins, is President, was most generous in placing at our disposal a great portion of their fourth floor at 1300 Locust Street, supplying telephone and other facilities, and giving us surroundings that lent atmosphere and historic setting to our tasks. The Historical Society also bore the expenses of the Academy of Music meeting and tendered a dinner to Lord and Lady Halifax, Justice and Mrs. Owen J. Roberts, and about eighty other guests that same evening. The Society also lent its rooms to the Penn Club on the evening of Tenth Month 23 for a characteristic Philadelphia reception to the Earl of Halifax, and two weeks earlier invited the Philadelphia Board of Education and the Principals of the Public Schools to a very pleasant tea, in order to interest them in school participation in the Tercentenary. There was a brief program in the dignified setting of the reception rooms where a particularly interesting William Penn Collection had been arranged. The success of this afternoon may be measured by the fact that over two hundred school programs were given in the Philadelphia public schools through the plans of a committee appointed by Superintendent Stoddard.

AT THE initial meeting of the State Committee Governor Martin read us his noble Proclamation. It struck the keynote for the Tercentenary. It presents—"William Penn, Quaker Founder and Proprietor of our great Commonwealth, and one of the truly great men of history who symbolized by his beliefs and deeds the hope of the human race for a better world . . . one whose tolerance, wisdom, enlightenment and vision as a statesman of the common weal render him an outstanding figure among the builders of states, and whose life and teachings provided many of the basic ideas of religious and political freedom and individual opportunity upon which our American liberty is founded . . . this great man who exerted so positive a force in the record of human progress, contributing to the basic thought underlying much of our present educational philosophy and to the development of that great charter of our American liberties, the Constitution of the United States."

This Proclamation, sent out everywhere with our letters and literature, was the outstanding influence in arousing individuals, institutions, societies, and committees to plan celebrations and programs. Our office was soon overwhelmed by applications for suggestions, literature, and plans for meetings. Two other important influences were the full-page colored portrait of the youthful Penn and the admirable page epitome of William Penn's great achievements in the June number of *Fortune* magazine, and the fine notice of the Tercentenary in *The Journal of the National Education Association of the United States* (October, 1944). These two reached a multitude of readers almost immediately. In one day we received requests for school program material from California, Montana, North and South Carolina, Florida, and Iowa.

To summarize: letters to 543 Chambers of Commerce and Boards of Trade in Pennsylvania, to interest pivotal community leaders, brought 2245 requests expressing interest in making the Penn commemoration impressive and long remembered in their areas; over 13,000 special letters went to clergymen, Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish, accompanied by an especially prepared fifteen-page article entitled *Lest We Forget—A William Penn Tercentenary Recollection on Religious Liberty.* This resulted

in hundreds—probably thousands of services with William Penn as the central theme, with the chief expression of interest coming from the Roman Catholics. A partial survey reveals participation by over 600 schools in the Commonwealth, and over 450 patriotic, service, civic, and fraternal groups. These classifications do not include a very large number of programs of which no official reports have been received, not only in Pennsylvania, but throughout the country at large, notably in Delaware, which arranged for *Remember William Penn* to be sent to all libraries, schools, and clergymen. Some 6090 packages of literature were sent out previous to Eleventh Month 17, 1944. The requests continue to come in.

Mention should also be made of the ceremonies in connection with planting 1209 William Penn memorial hemlock trees by Junior and Senior High Schools, and in addition 300 seedlings sent to elementary schools requesting them. These were burlapped and shipped for planting as near Tenth Month 24 as possible. The hemlock project was the particular concern of Charles F. Jenkins. To motivate it letters were sent to the editors of 680 papers, 850 nursery men and horticulturists, and sixty-seven superintendents of schools.

The classification of groups that planned programs and celebrations include fifty-four headings, running from Friends Meetings, Colonial Dames, clubs, libraries, associations of many sorts, the Union League of Philadelphia, and business and professional organizations, to Sons of Italy, Knights of Pythias, Rebekah Lodges, Veterans of Foreign Wars, Maccabees, and Needlework Guilds. William Penn would be astonished if he could know what went on in his honor in Penn's Woods. When one thinks of the hundreds of thousands who saw and heard and participated through these means and through the daily and periodical press, Governor Martin may wonder if his "William Penn conscious" wish did not come near being realized.

For in spite of the war and the election, the press—daily, weekly, and monthly—was generous, as is attested by three huge scrapbooks which have already been filed for the permanent record at Harrisburg. Besides the daily and weekly newspapers, there is a list of some twenty-six periodicals of national circula-

tion that gave generous notice of the Tercentenary or ran special articles on William Penn. Conspicuous among these, in addition to the two great magazines already mentioned, are *Life* with its nine-page illustrated article, *The Farm Journal, The Sunday School Times,* and the illustrated magazine section of *The Philadelphia Inquirer* on October 22, 1944.

Research work on the memorial volume *Remember William Penn: 1644-1944* was begun on Fourth Month 19. Through the courtesy of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania books and manuscripts were made available, and full and courteous cooperation was given by every person on the staff. The completed manuscript of the book was sent to the printers on Sixth Month 29. Unfortunate delays deferred distribution until after the Tercentenary date. The Governor especially wished the book to be well illustrated. Great care was taken in that particular. There are seventy-six full-page illustrations, probably the finest and most interesting collection ever made on William Penn. We are especially grateful to Hannah Clothier Hull for her permission to include twenty-seven illustrations from the book by her husband, the late William I. Hull, *William Penn: A Topical Biography* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1937).

It was the desire of the editors to present William Penn more attractively than is usual, in a number of the best-known illustrations or reproductions. Consequently, in addition to the portrait of William Penn in armor, which every one knows and loves, we used in many magazine articles and as a frontispiece to the memorial volume the reproduction of the bust of William Penn by A. Sterling Calder in the Hall of Fame at New York University, and also we did our best to familiarize the delightful conception of Penn's treaty with the Indians by Paul Domville, who is now on the faculty of the Fine Arts Department of the University of Pennsylvania. *Remember William Penn,* in addition to the illustrations, contains 250 pages of text, and ends with the publication in full of "Fruits of Solitude," and "More Fruits," thus giving wider circulation to that great contribution of William Penn to world literature than it has had for many decades.

THE TERCENTENARY celebrations culminated in the program at Harrisburg in the Forum of the Education Building on the afternoon of Tenth Month 23 and the afternoon and evening programs on Tenth Month 24 at the Friends Meeting House at Fourth and Arch Streets and the Academy of Music in Philadelphia.

The Harrisburg gathering was unique. For the first time in the history of the State all government offices closed early for a great convocation of officials and clerks with a common purpose—to listen to a notable address by Governor Martin in honor of William Penn, the Founder.

The meeting at Fourth and Arch Streets was the project of the Society of Friends, arranged by a special committee under the chairmanship of Richmond P. Miller. Rufus M. Jones presided, and short addresses were made by Orie O. Miller, Executive Secretary of the Mennonite Central Committee; by W. David Owl, a Cherokee Indian; by Reverend Hubert J. Cartwright, J.C.L., Rector of the Roman Catholic Cathedral of St. Peter and St. Paul; by Morris Wolf, of the Congregation Rodeph Shalom; and by Robert T. McCracken, Chancellor of the Protestant Episcopal Church of Pennsylvania. These five men brought out in admirable statements William Penn's broad sympathies with the smaller pacifist sects, with the Indians, the Roman Catholics, and the Hebrews, as sharers in religious tolerance with Protestants at large. In the course of the program a most interesting feature was a short-wave radio address from London by T. Edmund Harvey, a member of Parliament, one of the most prominent Friends of Great Britain. Thomas Raeburn White of the Philadelphia bar delivered the chief address on "Penn, the Statesman." Rufus M. Jones, who earlier called attention to the fact that Governor Martin was present, brought the meeting to a close with appropriate references to Pennsylvania as the keystone commonwealth of a great nation, through the spirit and ideals of the Founder. "It was in Philadelphia that the Declaration of Independence was written and signed. It was here that the Constitution of the United States was created and adopted. This city during most of George

Washington's administration, and the whole of that of John Adams, was the capital and seat of government of the young nation, and it was during those ten years the largest city in the United States. All that had come to pass in a little more than one hundred years after the landing of the man whose birthday we celebrate today. Carlyle once said, 'The great man is always as lightning out of heaven. The rest of the men wait for him like fuel and then they too flame.' Perhaps this celebration of the anniversary of the birth of our great Quaker friend may help us to flame in our time when the flame is so needed."

The final meeting was held at the Academy of Music with Governor Edward Martin presiding. The Honorable Bernard Samuel, Mayor of Philadelphia, welcomed the representative audience, and brief contributions were made by Governor Walter E. Edge, speaking for New Jersey, and Judge Daniel J. Layton, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court for Delaware. Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, Owen J. Roberts, spoke with sincerity and power on "William Penn as Statesman and Founder," and the Earl of Halifax, whose address was broadcasted, dwelt on William Penn's vision and practical foresight on international affairs as vitally needed for today.

This was followed by selected scenes from the British motion picture, "Courageous Mr. Penn," presented through the courtesy of Mr. J. H. Hoffberg, of Hoffberg Productions, Inc., New York City. In conclusion, President John W. Nason, of Swarthmore College, read well-chosen selections of the greatest sayings of William Penn on civil and religious liberty. After a few moments of profound Quaker silence, Governor Martin dismissed the audience and brought the Tercentenary officially to a close by words of appreciation of the spirit and achievement of the celebrations throughout city, State, and country in reviving the ideals of William Penn as living influences in the life of today.

In summing up the Tercentenary I am impressed by the fact that the basic idea we set before ourselves entered into the celebrations and programs. There was real and deep desire to present the fundamental and enduring qualities of the man whom Lord Acton calls the greatest historic figure of his age. This is well

expressed in the article in *Fortune* already alluded to: "His greatest achievement is the message that early in life he set forth to preach . . . the underlying conviction that men are bound together by more than selfish interests, that the mutual tolerance of men of good conscience is the basis of all human dealing. This message will have meaning as long as life endures."

AT A MEETING on First Month 12, 1945, at the Atwater Kent Museum, 15 South Seventh Street, Philadelphia, the Board of Directors re-elected three of the officers of the Association, William Wistar Comfort, President; Lydia Flagg Gummere, Vice-President, and I. Thomas Steere, Treasurer. In the place of Edward Woolman, who asked to be relieved of his responsibility as a Vice-President, Horace Mather Lippincott was elected. Susanna Smedley was chosen Secretary to replace Anna B. Hewitt, who resigned in order to become Assistant Editor.

The post of Assistant Editor has been created by a change in the By-Laws of the Association, by which the Board may appoint an Assistant Curator, an Editor of the BULLETIN, and an Assistant Editor. Margaret T. MacIntosh, who has been helping the Curator since 1942, is thus formally appointed Assistant Curator. New Committee appointments for the year are listed on the inside back cover of this BULLETIN.

IN "The Apprentice Years of Mason and Dixon" and "The First Scientific Expedition of Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon," Thomas D. Cope begins a technical account of the work of these surveyors, of whom one, Jeremiah Dixon, was a Friend. *Pennsylvania History*, vol. 11 (1944), pp. 155-170, and vol. 12 (1945), pp. 24-33.

ANOTHER "who are they" article about Quakers and Quaker service since 1917, written by Hazel Whitman, appeared in *Common Sense*, December 1942, pp. 404-408, "The Quiet Quakers."

JOHN S. HOYLAND'S *We Who Are India* (London, Lutterworth Press, 1944, 94 pp.) is a series of sketches of people and incidents by a Friend who has devoted many years to work in India. Each sketch illuminates a personal or social problem.

PROPOSED AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION

IN conformity with the constitutional requirement that at least two months' notice be given before an amendment to the Constitution is voted upon at an Annual Meeting, the Board of Directors wishes to submit the following proposal for the consideration of members of Friends Historical Association:

Instead of electing all fourteen members of the Board of Directors for a term of one year at each Annual Meeting of the Association, it is suggested a third of the group be elected each year, to serve for three years. It is therefore proposed that Article IV of the Constitution shall read as follows:

ARTICLE IV

DIRECTORS AND OFFICERS

The fourteen Directors prescribed by the Charter shall be divided into three classes, two classes of five each and one class of four, to be elected at the Annual Meeting of the Association. Each class shall serve for three years, respectively, the term of service of one class only expiring each year.

In order to inaugurate the above plan, the Annual Meeting in 1945 shall elect one class of five for a one-year term, one class of five for a two-year term, and one class of four for a three-year term.

The Directors shall elect annually from their number a President, two Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, and a Treasurer, who shall serve as the officers alike of the Association and of the Directors. The Directors may fill vacancies in their number.

In addition to the regular officers as above, the Directors are empowered, as they see fit, to elect Honorary Officers from the membership of the Association.

[Signed] SUSANNA SMEDLEY, *Secretary*

LAURA D. WORTH, 1869-1945

By Dorothy Lloyd Gilbert

LAURA D. WORTH, whose death occurred at her home at Guilford College, North Carolina, on January 16, 1945, did a great work for North Carolina Yearly Meeting as Chairman of the Committee on Preservation of Records, and as Custodian.

She was educated at New Garden Boarding School and Guilford College, graduating in 1892. After two years at Boston School of Gymnastics, she returned to Guilford in 1895 as the first director of women's physical education. In 1898-99 she attended Woman's Medical College in Baltimore and later entered nurse's training in Charlotte, North Carolina. From 1905 until 1928 she engaged in nursing, spending the years 1926-28 at Guilford College as nurse and matron.

After 1928 Laura Worth devoted much of her time to genealogical work and to the collecting and the repairing of minutes and records of North Carolina Yearly Meeting. As William Wade Hinshaw undertook the collection and publication of Quaker records, she entered upon the work of gathering data for the North Carolina volume. This occupation was precisely to her taste, and she spent nearly three years in detailed research and careful transcription. In the preface to Volume I of the *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy*, William Wade Hinshaw said of her: "Miss Worth is known to Friends everywhere as a woman of great intelligence, charming personality and exceptional ability as a genealogist. She knows more about Quaker genealogy in North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia than any other living person."

Laura D. Worth knew Guilford and North Carolina Yearly Meeting as most people know their own families, and through her knowledge had a clear understanding of the relation of each of the prominent families to the life of the college, and the relation of each monthly meeting to the whole Yearly Meeting, in time and in importance. Her interest in the College and in the Meeting never failed.

BOOK REVIEWS

Byways in Quaker History. A Collection of Historical Essays by Colleagues and Friends of William I. Hull. Edited by Howard H. Brinton. Wallingford, Pennsylvania, 1944. 246 pp. $2.50.

THE COLLECTION of essays contained in *Byways in Quaker History* is indeed a fitting memorial to William I. Hull, who himself would have delighted in reading them.

The opening essay is a sketch of the life and work of William I. Hull, penned in the charming style of Janet P. Whitney. It gives due tribute to his persistence, both in advocating his ideals for a better world and in his pursuit of historical research. His life was good proof of the fact that the idealist can mix in and influence the affairs of the world and is not necessarily one who shuts himself off from the current of life in an ivory tower.

Several of the essays deal with fields of thought in which William I. Hull was especially interested, namely, religion, social and political problems and historiography.

In the first field are Rufus M. Jones's "Whittier's Fundamental Religious Faith," D. Elton Trueblood's "The Career of Elias Hicks," Brand Blanshard's "Early Thought on the Inner Light," and Howard H. Brinton's "Dreams of Quaker Journalists." In discussing Whittier's faith Rufus Jones stresses its catholicity and describes it basically as consisting of "the yeasty doctrine of immanence in sane balance with the equally important fact of transcendence." He believes that Howard Bushnell had an unknown influence on Whittier's religious thinking.

Elton Trueblood gives a clear and succinct evaluation of Elias Hicks's influence on the Society of Friends and the as yet unborn poet in the young Whitman. In accounting for the religious difficulties which Hicks encountered, he declares: "The truth is that Hicks was not a theologian at all, but a rustic poet. . . . Being a poet, he stated his message in bold and vigorous, rather than careful language." He feels that in the long view Hicks's influence on Walt Whitman is more important than his rôle in the Society of Friends.

With some of Brand Blanshard's criticisms of the early Quaker doctrine of the Light Within I cannot agree. His approach to the problem seems to be too rationalistic without sufficient understanding of the basis and spirit of the ideas of the early Friends. Nor does he give due consideration to the religious background out of which they came and against which they were in many ways revolting.

Howard Brinton presents an interesting analysis of dreams recounted by Quaker journalists at various times and shows how they represented the inner religious struggles through which these Friends were passing.

At the same time he points out the caution with which these Quakers regarded their dreams and with which they accepted any of them as significant revelations.

The second group includes "Whittier, the Quaker Politician," by C. Marshall Taylor, and Thomas E. Drake's "Elihu Coleman, Quaker Anti-Slavery Leader." One only wishes that C. Marshall Taylor had gone further with his subject, which has pertinent bearing on our own time. One also wonders whether or not participation in politics in Whittier's time may not have been easier and more effective because of the simpler social structure of the period.

The social aspect of Quaker ideals is dealt with in Thomas E. Drake's essay on Elihu Coleman of Nantucket. A person heretofore practically unknown to the general reader, he represents the spirit of the prophetic Quaker reformer and gives added emphasis to New England's place in the early leadership against the system of slavery.

The historiographical field is presented in "Whittier as a Quaker Historian," by Henry J. Cadbury. One of the most interesting facts brought out in this essay is that Whittier projected a poetic history of Quakerism, although never coming to the point of writing one. Henry Cadbury feels that Whittier should be considered as an "interpreter" rather than an historian of Quakerism.

Charles M. Andrews's essay, "The Quakers in London and Their Printers There," shows how the early Quaker printers were veritably Publishers of Truth, despite loss of property and personal mistreatment. Most outstanding of these was Andrew Sowle, whose family and house remained in the business from the seventeenth to the early nineteenth century.

"French and German Friends in the Early Nineteenth Century," by William W. Comfort, gives a brief survey of the small groups of Friends which existed about 150 years ago on the continent of Europe. Included are lists of the members of these groups taken from the Grellet papers in the possession of the Library Company of Philadelphia.

Charles F. Jenkins's "James Logan and Stenton" gives a short account of Logan's early life, telling how he came to America. The writer also explains how Logan came into possession of his country estate, Stenton, outside Philadelphia, and gives a picture of the life which he led there, especially in his later years.

George A. Walton compares the time and conditions of Friends living in the vicinity of Alloways Creek Meeting in New Jersey and Birmingham Meeting in Pennsylvania, as they were at the end of the seventeenth century and as they are now, in his essay "Quakers Then and Now." He points out the active vision and idealism of these early Quaker settlers and suggests the possibility of Quakers exerting greater influence along such lines now.

The final essay is appropriately by Frank Aydelotte, for many years the president of Swarthmore College, under whom William I. Hull served. It is an evaluation of George Fox's character and way of life and vividly paints the career of this man on the canvas of his time.

This series of essays gives interesting glimpses of various aspects of Quaker life from the time of Fox down to the present. Some are entertaining, some stimulating and some informative, although one does not feel that all of them hold as much food for thought as they might. On the whole, Pendle Hill and especially Howard Brinton are to be congratulated for the good editorial work and the contribution this series of essays makes to Quaker history.

William Penn College. ARTHUR J. MEKEEL

The Leveller Tracts, 1647-1653. Edited by William Haller and Godfrey Davies. New York, Columbia University Press, 1944. 481 pp. $6.50.

THIS is a notable book and a "must book" for persons who are interested in the birth of democracy and in the preservation of its principles and ideals. It is furthermore a book of peculiar interest for members of the Society of Friends, for John Lilburne became a Quaker, and a remarkable one.

The term "Leveller" has usually been misunderstood and thought of as representing an extreme "leftist" movement, and the "Levellers" have not received the attention they deserve at the hands of most historians. Lilburne is barely mentioned in J. R. Green's *History of the English People.*

The word "Leveller," like "Quaker," was a term of reproach, used to blacken and arouse hostility against the democratic tendencies in the Commonwealth Army. It was used originally to designate persons who insisted on "an equality of right to choose and be chosen" in the sphere of political government. The Levellers very soon constituted a weighty party, became a formidable factor, and, under Lilburne's brilliant leadership and pamphleteering, a constant thorn in Cromwell's side. The main writers of the pamphlets were Lilburne, Walwyn and Overton. These tracts powerfully express the voice of the people, their political, economic, religious and social grievances, and a program of reforms, based on history and legal rights. They are pleas for the common rights of Englishmen, especially for the right to be heard. This is a precious collection of documents that have in them the life blood of the democratic way, and they are vital and opportune for these times. Their editors and the Columbia University Press have done us all a memorable service.

I shall dwell especially upon the contribution of John Lilburne, a great many of whose tracts on fundamental liberties are here printed, and who was the outstanding leader of this movement for equal rights. Lilburne,

whom Carlyle describes as "a fuliginous man," has in recent times come to be recognized, though not yet sufficiently, as a person of large significance in the agelong fight for human rights, and one of the brave creators of democracy. He was born in the County of Durham in 1618. He had a distinguished career as a soldier in the first Civil War and became lieutenant-colonel, and in this early period he was a friend and admirer of Cromwell, and, until Lilburne showed his hand, Cromwell was his friend, though he later poured vials of wrath upon his head. Few men have ever had to suffer a more continuous line of persecution than Lilburne. He was whipped, pilloried, fined, and loaded with irons by the Star Chamber in his early manhood, and after his disillusionment over the outcome of the Civil War, and his powerful demand for "equal justice, impartially distributed to all men," and the break with Cromwell, he endured a series of imprisonments, in Newgate, in the Tower of London, and in a variety of prisons. He was banished for a time from England. But no method was found to stop his pen from producing his fiery and extremely popular tracts on justice and liberty for all men. He was a foe to tithes and to parliamentary control of religion. He advocated the abolition of imprisonment for debt, and abolition of capital punishment for every crime except murder. He insisted that every person on trial should have counsel and should not be compelled to testify against himself. Like William Penn, he defended the rights of juries to make their own untrammeled decisions.

When Lilburne was freed from Newgate Prison, there was such an outburst of joy on the part of the people that it was very evident he was a popular hero. Thousands of people rose up and issued a manifesto to the House of Commons, which claimed that "the power and strength of the nation" is derived from the people who compose it. Two of Lilburne's most important tracts in this volume are: "England's New Chains Discovered," and "The Second Part of England's New Chains Discovered." "The Just Defense of John Lilburn" is also here, although the volume does not contain the tract which is of the greatest interest to the Quaker reader, that is, "The Resurrection of John Lilburne, now a Prisoner in Dover-Castle." This tract is the story of Lilburne's convincement as a Quaker through Luke Howard's visit to him in Dover Castle, and it reveals a new and tender Lilburne, no longer "fuliginous" but still brave and fearless. L. Violet Hodgkin has beautifully told the story of this convincement in her book, *The Shoemaker of Dover* (London, 1943). The "Resurrection" tract (London, 1656) is in the Quaker Collection of the Haverford College Library.

This volume of *Leveller Tracts*, excellently edited and published, is a noble monument to this valiant, good and essentially great man, who is a founder of modern democracy.

Haverford College. RUFUS M. JONES

Ploughs and Politicks: Charles Read of New Jersey and His Notes on Agriculture, 1715-1774, by Carl Raymond Woodward. Rutgers University Studies in History, Number Two. New Brunswick, Rutgers University Press, 1941. 468 pp. $5.

IN *Ploughs and Politicks* Dr. Woodward has made an important contribution to the agricultural history of pre-Revolutionary America. The book is divided into two parts, preceded by a Foreword which gives a fascinating account of the discovery of the agricultural notes and the steps which led to the identification of Charles Read as the author. The first part of the volume is a biography of Read, telling of his varied activities as customs collector for the port of Burlington, land speculator, countryman, ironmaster, jurist, Secretary of the Province, and other political offices. Part II consists of the agricultural journal, with full explanatory notes, followed by a bibliography, glossary, and index. The book is attractively illustrated, and there are a number of charts and maps. While Read was not a member of the Society of Friends, he was closely associated with such leading Quakers as Samuel Allinson, John Bartram, Peter Collinson, James Logan, Richard Partridge, Israel Pemberton, and James Pemberton. In 1769 he joined with sixty-nine persons, mostly Friends from New Jersey and Pennsylvania to form the "Burlington Company" for the purchase and development of lands in Otsego County, New York. In the public mind, Charles Read was usually regarded as a member of the "Quaker party," probably because he joined in their opposition to military conscription and agreed with their attitude of justice and fairness to the Indians. This book will be of great interest to the general reader as well as to the student of agricultural history.

A. B. H.

"EDWARD T. STOTESBURY" by Horace Mather Lippincott, *Old York Road Historical Society Bulletin*, 6 (1942): 3-23, tells the life story of the famous Philadelphia banker (1849-1938), whose mother was a Friend, and who attended Friends' schools in his youth. "Although he never affiliated with any church," the author says, "he remained at heart a Quaker with the characteristics of their way of life—diligence, thrift, integrity, and conservatism."

EMERSON B. ROBERTS contributes another of his biographical articles on Friends in early Maryland to the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, vol. 39 (1944), pp. 335-344, under the title "Among the 'Meeters at the Bayside'." The families discussed are those of Kemp, Webb, and Stevens of Talbot County. Cf. this BULLETIN, vol. 32 (1943), p. 32.

IN THE 1944 *Minutes* of Indiana Yearly Meeting (General Conference) is a list (pp. 4-9) of the manuscript records of the Meeting in the safe at the Friends' Home at Waynesville, Ohio.

ARTICLES IN QUAKER PERIODICALS

Friends Intelligencer

"BEGINNING VOLUME 100," tells of Volume 1.—January 2, 1943, pp. 3-4.

"Free Produce, Undyed Clothing, and Beards: the Testimonies of Joshua Evans," by Frederick B. Tolles.—June 5, 1943, pp. 378-379.

"George School Celebrates Fiftieth Anniversary," gives a brief history of the school.—November 6, 1943, pp. 734-738.

"Woolman Memorial and Settlement, a Statement by the John Woolman Memorial Association," takes account of the doubts expressed as to whether the memorial house was actually built by John Woolman.—November 13, 1943, p. 754.

"Who's Who Among Friends," gives an analysis by Sceva B. Laughlin of the 1940-41 edition of *Who's Who in America.* There were 221 individuals designated as Friends.—January 22, 1944, p. 53.

"Walt Whitman and Elias Hicks," by Janna Burgess.—*Ibid.*, pp. 54-55.

"Thoreau Attends Quaker Meeting," by Walter Harding, tells of his hearing Lucretia Mott at one meeting and seeing several disowned Quaker abolitionists at another.—May 6, 1944, pp. 298-299.

"The Abolition Society is 169 Years Old," tells of recent activities of the Pennsylvania Abolition Society.—May 13, 1944, p. 319.

"George Fox Among the Doctors," by Anton T. Boisen, considers Fox from the point of view of psychiatry.—June 3, 1944, pp. 359-360.

"Baltimore Meeting on the Move," lists the changes of location of the Meeting newly identified as "Stony Run."—*Ibid.*, p. 367.

"Penn's Name in Philadelphia," by Carroll Frey, lists places and institutions named for William Penn.—July 15, 1944, pp. 460-461.

"George Fox and the Beliefs of the Indians," by Raymond Stites.—August 5, 1944, pp. 511-512.

"Quaker Tryst," by Ivy Bolton, is a story of a boy's adventure in Peter Stuyvesant's New Amsterdam.—September 23, 1944, pp. 623-626.

"Was William Penn a Modern Quaker?" by Frederick B. Tolles, answers the question with a negative unfavorable to modern Friends.—October 21, 1944, pp. 688-691.

"Penn as a Pacifist," by Henry J. Cadbury, maintains that Penn's pacifism was sincere, complete, and effective.—October 21, 1944, pp. 692-693.

Since our last report "Now and Then" (Henry J. Cadbury) has added thirty-six numbers to the popular and informative "Letters from the Past." Their titles indicate some but not always all of the subjects treated: 23, *Some Woolman Items* (December 5, 1942, p. 791) gives new

light on Woolman's reading of *Desiderius*, a Spanish mystical work; 24, *Quaker Longevity—Personal and Periodical* (December 19, 1942, pp. 823-824); 25, *Pennsylvania Quakers—an Early Lutheran View* (January 9, 1943, p. 22) quotes some criticisms from the Journals of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg; 26, *"Jones Lauded for Quicker Work"* (January 30, 1943, pp. 70-71) uses a newspaper headline misprint as a text for a sermonette on Quaker pioneers, Rufus M. Jones among them; 27, *In Other Mouths* (February 20, 1943, p. 123) discloses that the term "Society of Friends" was used in 1652 by William Erbury, a forerunner of Quakerism, a century and a half before it came into common use among Friends; 28, *Friends Fast* (March 6, 1943, pp. 154-155) recalls early Quaker fasting of a religious nature in connection with the recent fasts for scientific purposes in special projects of the Civilian Public Service program; 29, *Behind the Date Lines* (March 20, 1943, pp. 186-187) brings up memories of earlier Quaker experiences in the far-flung battles zones of Africa, Russia, Germany, and the Pacific.

No. 30, *As Seen from Monticello* (April 10, 1943, pp. 237-238) tells of Thomas Jefferson's cordial relations with Friends except in the matter of war, toward which he believed their attitude to be entirely conditioned by their loyalty to the "mother society" in England; 31, *Where the Martyrs Died* (May 1, 1943, pp. 293-294) shows ways in which history has reversed itself, from persecution to honor, as regards Friends in Cambridge, Massachusetts; 32, *"If It Were Not for Bonaparte . . . "* (May 22, 1943, pp. 341-342) finds similarities in the criticism directed against the Friends' attitude during the Napoleonic and the Hitlerite threat to invade England; 33, *From H. M. S. Quaker to S. S. John Woolman* (July 3, 1943, pp. 437-438) finds amusement in giving warships Quaker names, from the seventeenth-century ketch *Quaker* to the Liberty Ship *John Woolman*. Quaker whalers are also noted; 34, *Whaling and "Quaking"* (July 10, 1943, pp. 454-455) calls for a "maritime history" of Quakerism; 35, *Q as in Quaker* (August 7, 1943, pp. 520-521) speaks of the striking effect of, and possibilities for, alliteration in the initial letter of the word "Quaker"; 36, *Friends Start to College* (August 21, 1943, p. 554) tells of George Hussey, son of Stephen Hussey of Nantucket, who matriculated at Harvard in 1711, perhaps the first Quaker boy to be sent to college in an age when Friends were neither welcome nor anxious to enter "a cage of unclean birds"; 37, *Lion Proselytes* (October 2, 1943, p. 650) doubts whether bombing (i. e., fear of the lions—II Kings 17:24-33) makes good Quaker proselytes; 38, *Alternatives to Frustration* (October 16, 1943, pp. 682-683) tells how Friends in past wars have found outlets for their energies, in building bridges, reforming the Society, doing relief work, or writing Quaker history; 39, *Anarchism and Quakerism* (November 6, 1943, pp. 730-731) defends Friends against the charge of anarchism, past and present.

No. 40, *A Public Trial in Bermuda* (November 13, 1943, pp. 751-752) concerns a Bermuda debate of 1682; 41, *The Log of a Negro Quaker* (November 20, 1943, pp. 765-766) gives excerpts from the log of Paul Cuffe (1759-1817), the Negro Quaker mariner; 42, *Those Bartrams* (November 27, 1943, pp. 787-788) prints a bookseller's lively account of John and William Bartram; 43, *Christmas—Every Day or Never?* (December 25, 1943, p. 853) tells of early Quaker persecutions resulting from their refusal to observe Christmas because of their Puritanlike scruples against celebrating a "popish mass" and their objections to the luxury and frivolity of the day; 44, *Not Passed by the Censor* (January 8, 1944, pp. 21-22) speaks of William Penn's difficulties with censors and secret police in 1710, as other Friends then and now have been troubled; 45, *First Lady* (January 22, 1944, p. 58) comments on Lou Henry's coming into the Society of Friends through her marriage to Herbert Hoover, and on Dolly Payne Todd's being disowned when she married James Madison; 46, *Captors Captured* (February 5, 1944, pp. 88-89). *The City of Flint* episode recalls Quaker captors and captives, Daniel Baker and Thomas Lurting, who left the British navy for the Society of Friends, and the Quaker prisoners of the English, captives of the Dutch, who first planted Quakerism in Norway; 47, *The Letter in Lincoln's Pocket* (February 12, 1944, p. 102) finds some hope of confirming the as yet unproven assertion that Lincoln carried in his pocket at the time of his death a letter from Friend Eliza P. Gurney; 48, *George Washington and Friends* (February 19, 1944, p. 121). Washington's diary tells that he went to Quaker meeting in Philadelphia in 1774. His other contacts with Friends came when he was waited upon by Quaker delegations; 49, *Quakeresses as Authoresses* (wrongly numbered "46," March 4, 1944, p. 152) finds women Friends active in writing Quaker history and biography today, as they were in publishing controversial tracts in the seventeenth century.

No. 50, *Executioners' Excuses* (March 18, 1944, p. 185) quotes from the rare broadside *Declaration* of Boston's General Court of 1659 justifying its execution of two Quakers; 51, *On Admitting Negroes* (April 22, 1944, pp. 269-270) tells how William Wharton and Isaac T. Hopper endeavored, apparently without success, to persuade Haverford, Pennsylvania, Preparative Meeting (Old Haverford, the Race Street Meeting on Eagle Road) to admit a Negro applicant to membership; 52, *Lady Penn, Tercentenary Mother* (May 13, 1944, p. 315) sheds a little new light on William Penn's little-known mother; 53, *Equestrian Quakerism* (May 20, 1944, pp. 332-333) believes that an "Equestrian History of Quakerism" might well be written to accompany the suggested "Maritime" History of Friends; 54, *Quakerdom's Dunkirk* (May 27, 1944, pp. 347-348) recalls the removal of Nantucket Quaker whalemen to Dunkirk from 1785 to about 1797; 55, *Winston Churchill and George Fox* (July 1, 1944, pp. 427-428) quotes an alibi for George Fox which the seventeenth-century

ancestor and namesake of the British Prime Minister wrote in 1670. It cleared Fox of erroneous charges, although Churchill's motives in so doing are unknown. He was no admirer of Friends; 56, *Winston Churchill and William Penn* (August 5, 1944, p. 514) finds the modern Churchill defending Penn against the aspersions of Macaulay, as he had also defended his famous progenitor, the Duke of Marlborough; 57, *Penn Points for Careful Penmen* (September 16, 1944, pp. 608-609) tells of Penn myths and mistakes. . . . New Dutch and American "first biographies" have turned up, for instance, since William I. Hull published *Eight First Biographies* in 1936; 58, *Hurricanes* (September 30, 1944, pp. 640-641). While anxiously awaiting the hurricane of 1944 "Now and Then" recalls others which Friends have experienced, particularly in Barbados.

The Friend (Philadelphia)

"MORE Quakeriana at Harvard," by Henry J. Cadbury.—March 4, 1943, pp. 279-280.

"Nantucket Weather, From the Journal of Gorham Hussey," tells of certain unusual bits of winter weather in the eighteen-forties.—April 1, 1943, pp. 322-324.

"Did George Fox Write It?" by Henry J. Cadbury, indicates the belief that Fox did write *To the Council of Officers of the Armie and the Heads of the Nation* (1659), but doubts that it shows any weakening of his pacifism.—June 10, 1943, pp. 396-397.

In "William Blake and Quakerism," Bernard E. Mott finds similarities between Blake's mystical ideas and those of Friends.—June 24, 1943, pp. 415-417.

"Evolution of the Queries," by Howard H. Brinton.—March 16, 1944, pp. 293-296.

"This Haverford College is Harvard," by Henry J. Cadbury, clears up the mystery of the Indian boy whom the English Friend, Robert Sutcliff, reported in 1811, twenty-two years before Haverford was founded, to have once attended the college.—April 13, 1944, p. 324.

The American Friend

"THE Birth of *The American Friend*," by Rufus M. Jones, tells briefly of the origin and history of this Quaker journal on its fiftieth anniversary.—July 13, 1944, pp. 267-268.

"How We Came to Be," reviews the history of the American Friends Board of Missions, now fifty years old.—August 10, 1944, pp. 318-319.

"In the Quaker Era: In Quest of Our Birth Date," Henry J. Cadbury finds reason to follow George Fox's statement that "The truth sprang up first in Leicestershire in 1644." Evidence as to the exact date of the

origin of the Quaker movement is conflicting enough, however, to warrant a tercentenary celebration, the writer believes, in some other year or over a period of several years.—September 7, 1944, pp. 356-357.

The Friend (London)

THE Centenary Number (February 12, 1943) gives bits of history both of *The Friend* and the Society it has served.

Beginning an occasional series of "Centenary Chapters," Helen M. Sturge, of Bristol, writes on *Quakerism's Critical Years*, which she thinks were those of the early nineteenth century.—February 19, 1943, pp. 137-138. Other "Centenary Chapers" by Helen M. Sturge include: *The Broadening Outlook* (No. 2, February 26, 1943, pp. 155-156), telling of Bristol Friends' growing liberalism in later years, and *My Quaker Heritage* (No. 3, March 5, 1943, pp. 169-170), relating to her own experience in a "rather half and half" Quaker family atmosphere.

Joan M. Fry contributes the remaining three "Chapters": *The Richmond Declaration* (No. 4, March 19, 1943, pp. 203-204), telling how London refused to subscribe to this American Quaker "creed"; *Noise v. Silence* (No. 5, April 2, 1943, pp. 233-234), which tells of the failure of a patriotic mob to break up a Friends' meeting in the last war; and *Friends and the Censor* (mislabeled "7," April 23, 1943, pp. 281-282), recalling the trial of three Friends in 1918 for violating censorship rules and the strange "Quakers' Meeting" which took place in court.

"When Friends Last Worked at Bizerta," by Francesca M. Wilson, tells of work for Serbian soldier refugees at Bizerta in World War I.—April 16, 1943, pp. 261-262.

"Quaker Women and Our Business Meetings," by Anna L. Littleboy, takes advantage of the nomination of W. Maude Brayshaw as the first Woman Clerk of the Yearly Meeting to record the "slow but sure advance" of women Friends in this field of Quaker activity.—August 6, 1943, pp. 517-518.

"A Quaker Sailor Who Would Not Fight," by E. H. W. Meyerstein, gives excerpts from the newly discovered journal of Edward Coxere (1633-1694), another "fighting sailor turned peaceable Quaker."—November 5, 1943, pp. 737-738.

"Friends and the Co-operative Movement," by William E. Minty, tells of the association of Friends with Co-operatives since the 1844 beginnings at Rochdale.—June 30, 1944, pp. 425-426.

The Pacific Friend

DR. W. V. COFFIN, first clerk of California Yearly Meeting, and now eighty-eight years of age, read a paper on the founding of the Meeting in 1894 at its Fiftieth Anniversary session.—Seventh Month, 1944, pp. 3-4.

BRIEFER NOTICES

By Henry J. Cadbury

UNDER the title, "The Friends Come to Oregon," H. S. Nedry publishes in the *Oregon Historical Quarterly* a series of studies: "I. Newberg Meeting," vol. 45 (1944), pp. 195-217; "II. Salem Quarter," *ibid.*, pp. 306-325. The first instalment includes the organizing of Newberg Quarterly and Oregon Yearly Meeting. The second deals with Portland Quarter as well as Salem, and with the short lived Friends' Polytechnic Institute (1892-1896). The author has used official minutes, newspapers, journals and reminiscences (some of them in MS.).

IN THIS connection attention may be called to an older article in the *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, vol. 34 (1933), pp. 134-143, by F. Harold Young, on "William Hobson, Quaker Missionary." Hobson (1820-1891) was born in North Carolina, moved in 1848 and 1849 successively to Indiana and Iowa, but spent the last sixteen years of his life in Oregon, where he established the Quaker community of Newberg. The article has selected passages from his diary.

EDWARD DANA DURAND, of 3613 Norton Place, N. W., Washington, D. C., is joint author and publisher of a volume on *Bennett Family History* (1941, 220 pages) which deals with the ancestry and descendants of William Bennett (1757-1833) and his wife, Grace Davis, Quakers, and centers in Chester and Delaware Counties, Pennsylvania. With its extensive record of collateral lines it is said to represent a good source of information about Friends who migrated to Pennsylvania and New Jersey between 1680 and 1715.

ARTHUR J. ALEXANDER'S article on "The Pennsylvania Association of 1747" in *Pennsylvania History*, vol. 12 (1945), pp. 15-24, deals with an effort made by Benjamin Franklin and others to counter the Quaker objection to preparation for even defensive war. The opposition to this military organization came from the Penns more than from the Quaker Assembly.

"FRIENDS and the Shawnee Indians at Wapakoneta," published in *The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, vol. 54 (1945), pp. 32-39, and written by the editor, Harlow Lindley, is an account of the work of Friends for a group of Indians who lived for two or three decades near the present town of Wapakoneta, Ohio, until they removed for the west in 1832 and 1833. The information comes from reports to Ohio Yearly Meeting of a committte who provided a small school for the Indians from 1822 on, but with interruptions, out of funds derived from Baltimore and Ohio Yearly Meetings.

RHODE ISLAND HISTORY publishes in two instalments, vol. 3 (1944), pp. 105-117, vol. 4 (1945), pp. 13-16, an account of "Christian Lodowick of Newport and Leipzig," one of those learned continental scholars that came for a time into the Society of Friends. The author, Harold S. Jantz, has been able to piece together from various sources the varied literary, scientific and religious connections of the subject. His Quaker connection ended about 1690, his New England residence ended about 1696, and about 1700 he settled down in Leipzig to an active career as linguistic and literary mediator between England and Germany; he died in 1728, aged nearly 68. He had an extensive library, his particular study being chemistry. The title page of his best known American publication, *The New England Almanack* for 1695, is reproduced with the article.

EDWIN W. and Miriam R. Small, writing on "Prudence Crandall, Champion of Negro Education," have used advertisements and comments in Garrison's *Liberator* and some manuscript material at Canterbury, Connecticut, the scene of her dramatic conflict. The article appearing in *The New England Quarterly*, vol. 17 (1944), pp. 506-529, supplements and is supplemented by one published in this BULLETIN in 1933, vol. 22, pp. 35-55.

ASSOCIATING Christmas with Quaker ideals, the *Bryn Mawr Alumnae Bulletin* for December, 1944, features the Quaker connections of the college. Rufus M. Jones writes on "The Quaker Heritage at Bryn Mawr." Margaret Taylor MacIntosh indicates how the present college approximates some of the "Considerations to Govern My Trustees," which appear in documents from her great-uncle, Joseph W. Taylor, founder of Bryn Mawr. John F. Rich shows how the college has been associated with the American Friends Service Committee. Edith F. Sharpless, veteran Quaker missionary, writes on "Thirty Years in Japan."

HORACE MATHER LIPPINCOTT contributes an article on "Benjamin West, 1757C" to *The General Magazine and Historical Chronicle*, vol. 47 (1944-5), pp. 13-28. "His Quakerism and his parentage have been questioned and this paper is an attempt to clear up these disputed points." On the former matter he cites many authorities both ways, but concludes in favor of West's good standing as a Friend.

"SOME PHILADELPHIA HOUSES" by Horace M. Lippincott in *The General Magazine and Historical Chronicle*, vol. 45 (1942), pp. 194-203, 277-286, deals with many Friends of the olden time and their homes, including Nicholas Waln, Jonathan Evans, John Bartram, Dr. Caspar Wistar, William and Deborah Wharton, Samuel and Susanna Morris (Hope Lodge), James and Sarah Logan (Stenton).

NORWEGIAN migration to America, in whose beginnings Quakerism played such a large part, is described for its first forty years by Ingrid Gaustad Semmingsen, in *Veien mot vest; utvandringen fra Norge til Amerika, 1825-1865.* (Oslo, H. Aschehoug and Co., 1941. 528 pages.)

WHATEVER its Friendly associations, Quaker Hill, New York, has come into fame as the home of Thomas E. Dewey, Hugh Gibson, Lowell Thomas, etc. The article in *Life* for September 11, 1944, on "Dewey's Pawling" is mostly pictures of Quaker Hill.

"BIBLICAL Nonresistance and Modern Pacifism," by Guy F. Hershberger, in *The Mennonite Quarterly Review*, vol. 17 (July, 1943), pp. 115-135, places the Quakers somewhere between "true" Biblical nonresistance, as the Mennonites see it, and the somewhat "violent" liberal Protestant pacifism of twentieth-century thought. He states that Friends believe in the possibility of Christians organizing a political state which has no need for force except that employed by the police.

ANNA WHARTON WOOD, of Waltham, Massachusetts, has written and privately printed for his grandchildren a sketch of her father, *Benjamin Raper Smith (1825-1904)* in a limited edition (1945, dated 1943, 54 pages). Descended from notable families of Friends he continued even after losing his own membership to represent the best traditions of a Quaker gentleman, and his home whether at Germantown or at Newport was a radiating center of Quaker influence. The account is provided with an early picture of B. R. Smith and his wife, and with a list of their descendants.

FREDERIC B. TOLLES is the author of an informative and discriminating article in *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 69 (1945), pp. 26-49, entitled "Quietism versus Enthusiasm: The Philadelphia Quakers and the Great Awakening." He quotes the letters of Friends condemning Whitfield's revivalism and then proceeds to compare the two movements. In spite of their likenesses Quakerism had become too respectable and too quietistic and mystical to join in a movement which sociologically and theologically had so much in common with George Fox.

W. K. JORDAN, the author of a full history of the Development of Religious Toleration in England in four volumes, contributed also to the *Huntington Library Quarterly*, vol. 3 (1939-40), pp. 197-22, 403-418, some notes on "Sectarian Thought and Its Relation to the Development of Religious Toleration, 1640-1660." There is only a brief section on "Early Quaker Thought," pp. 219-223, since the limits of date are set too early for Penn, the great Quaker champion, but the discussion of the Millenarians and the Socinians and of John Everard throws much light on antecedents and parallels of Quakerism in relation to this subject.

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